609
[362] From the rafters hung ten hammocks, as well as bows, arrows, bowls and other objects. The youth offered us a bowl filled
[362 574] with the fruit of the muriti palm (Mauricia venifera); he showed the greatest desire to [78] oblige us, and pronounced himself ready to accompany us to Necodemos if his father agreed. We blew our horn to call the father but no one appeared, and after waiting an hour I decided to move on and in fact did so, reluctantly leaving behind this engaging savage who had received me in his hut so cheerfully

361 In the afternoon, having crossed the forest, we walked out upon a vast plain and saw on the crest of a hill the maloca or village of Abenanti.

What startled me was that we always made such encounters when we least expected them, for I never succeeded in having the guide tell me beforehand what road we were to follow or what localities we were to encounter.

342 621 The village of Abenanti was under construction; it comprised but one large new house, with a thatch-covered roof which consisted of a simple leaning wall, slanting down from east to west.

[352] We found no one inside the house but the large number of hammocks, bows, and arrows which hung from the roof indicated that it was occupied by several families.

The fire was lit; as usual we blew our horn in order to call the occupants of the house.

[609] It was not long before a slender youth appeared, a mistrustful look on his face, leading by the hand a small child who was very frightened and excited.

342 This youth was about twenty; his face was not yet completely painted. It merely bore the lozenges; that part which consists of a solid layer of black dye, as per the custom of the tribe, had not yet been completed. These drawings, with their geometric regularity and [79] their fresh and vivid color, stood out on his youthful complexion and lent his features a certain novel comeliness.

609 When night came they told me that a few men, women and children, who were turning in to the maloca from the surrounding woods had stopped by a nearby stream and hesitated to come home because of our presence.

123 609 In view of this I broke camp and moved about a mile away, leaving my interpreter to spend the night in Abenanti and to convince those mistrustful people that we had not the slightest intention to harm them.

609 himself to me, offering me some supper with another word which
[528] I had also learned: "Cobicobi."

Then I went into one end of the large house which is
[541] occupied by men only, and there made my quarters. [82]

The Mundurucu whose hammocks hung on that side, and whose nearness might have disturbed me, graciously ceded me the space and moved to the other side.

I wish to emphasize the generous hospitality I received
[574] in Necodemos; it was all the more surprising as it came from barbarians altogether unacquainted with our social customs. Everything was placed at my disposal; nothing was done that might offend or inconvenience me.

Men, old and young, stood in a circle round me. Not
[562 342] a single woman was present -- not even one child of the female sex. Only men were admitted to the large dwelling where I lodged, which was situated in the middle of the village and called ekçá.

My visit was a festive occasion for the savages; they gazed with astonishment at everything they saw: the spermaceti candle which I lit, the watch, the travelling case, the writing case [carteira]. They scrutinized every object, passing it from hand to hand in the midst of noisy laughter.

This went on until midnight. The Mundurucu greatly enjoyed this diversion: it was to them a unique and quite unexpected event. Finally, I told them that I was tired, and they replied: "Well, then, go to sleep!" Each repaired immediately to his hammock, saying: "See you tomorrow" -- "Cuia dhé."

513 534 But these barbarians have the custom of blowing a horn all through the night in their quarters or ekçá. It seems to be a sign of watchfulness. Now one, now another who happens to awaken, forsakes his comfort [tira-se de seus cuidados], seizes the horn which always hangs from the roof above his hammock, and blows upon it as long as he pleases. After him another man follows suit. And this monotonous and melancholy music echoes mournfully through the surrounding forest. It is strictly a savage pastime. [83]

773 on the hills of Areucrẽ. He had Rairũ snatched away by the clouds,
172 and he himself disappeared from Necodemos, following the course of the Tapajoz; on the left bank of the river, at a height no human hand can reach, he also drew some characters on the cliff of Camagalo.

773 And since then no one has known where he is. The Mundurucu faithfully preserve the memory of his deeds, and paint themselves, their wives and their children in exactly the same fashion as Caru-Sacaebẽ was painted.

VI

Appearance of the dog in Necodemos -- Legend

Among all peoples, the dog is looked upon as a faithful friend. The Mundurucu, who are hunting savages, picture the [85] dog in their legends as descended from a maiden of their tribe and from an unknown warrior, who appeared in the maloca and disappeared again without anyone finding out who he was, whence he had come, or where he had gone. He was a deus ignotus.

The story ran as follows. After Caru-Sacaebẽ had disappeared, the Mundurucu of Necodemos continued [88] to hunt, searching every part of the plains and forests. One day, while they were out hunting, an unknown warrior by the name of Caru-Pitubẽ appeared at the maloca.

He went to the ekcã, climbed into a hammock, seized a horn from the roof, and proceeded to blow upon it in a peculiar way. A maiden of the maloca, Iracheru by name, responded to [212] the call and offered the warrior daũ [food prepared from Brazil [514] nuts] as a sign of good hospitality.

Caru-Pitubẽ had arrived almost at nightfall.

There was no one else in Necodemos.

Whenever I had the opportunity to enter one of those houses, I always found the women working; some wove hammocks, some made flour, others smoked meat, some cooked, some prepared banana mush, etc.

They never failed to offer me something to eat: now cooked sweet potatoes, now banana mush. [104]

A cheerful and merry Indian woman, her face all painted up with urucu dye in addition to the usual designs, offered me a tremendous caterpillar which she held on her finger. It was a repulsive thing which contracted and stretched convulsively; and the woman insisted upon transferring it to my own hand, telling me that it was something to eat: "Cobi-cobi."

XIV

Symbolic characters drawn on the cliff of Cannagalo, on the banks of the Upper Tapajoz, and on the hills of Areu-cré between Acupari and Necodemos.

On the left bank of the Upper Tapajoz, in the place known as Cannagalo, fifteen figures are to be seen, drawn on the face of a cliff which is about one hundred meters high and which was carved perpendicularly by the stream.

These figures have been there for ages untold. the oldest frontiersmen who explored the Upper Tapajoz, and the oldest Mundurucu, found them just as they are but do not understand their meaning.

They are dark red, like ocher, and stand about eight meters above the highest level of the water at the time of its maximum winter swelling.

At the present time it would be impossible for a man to draw them at this height, even with the help of scaffolding, for the current is fierce where the river curves in at the base of the cliff, especially at the time of year when the water level reaches its maximum height.

554 727 head owner was responsible for holding ceremonies centering around the enemy heads. These ceremonies were participated in by people from many villages. After a successful expedition, a number of villages might hold these ceremonies, [57] thus involving a great deal of intervillage visiting. Cassa, beiú, and non-alcoholic vegetable and fruit drinks were amassed to feed the visitors. In the first ceremony of the cycle the trophy head was decorated by stringing cords through the mouth and out of the nostrils via a hole in the roof of the mouth, attaching brightly colored feathers to the ears, and affixing paca teeth over the eye sockets. On the second occasion, the skin was taken from the skull and it was hung in a corner of the men's house, and on the third and last, the teeth of the trophy head, which had been removed immediately after the attack, were strung on a belt of woven cotton. A great dance was then held by the Daxabi'axuxen (literally, "mothers of the arrow"), a singing society to which most of the Munduruc6 males belonged. After this ceremony, the trophy head owner and his wife resumed their normal lives.

554 The highest honor achievable for a Munduruc6 man was to become a muchacha, or one of the society of learned and distinguished warriors. All members of this society had at one time taken a head and all were founts of Munduruc6 learning, especially of the all-important songs. The greatest chiefs and war leaders were members and such membership did much to enhance the chief's prestige. Below the status of the muchacha was that of the trophy head owner (dajeboishi).

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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431 food, as well as other articles, is between houses of more closely related females. But sharing is not structured exclusively by kinship; food was also given to our household [123] without question or request for payment. It was understood by the Indians, of course, that we would ultimately reciprocate by the distribution of manufactured articles, but the mutual exchanges existed on a general level between our house and the village and not between individuals in a trade of specific commodities.

476 The women of all village households frequently coöp-
244 erate in the harvesting of manioc and the preparation of
252 farinha, especially when large quantities are to be pro-
462 duced. These occasions show lucidly how nebulous are concepts of property among the savannah Mundurucú, for coöperation extends to the manufacture of farinha for trade to the whites. Men commonly arrange for the sale of [439] farinha to a trader and then call upon the women of their household to commence gathering and preparing the tubers. The women then invite women of other households to join them in the work. If the man who contracted the sale of farinha has an inadequate supply of manioc in his garden, the women frequently take the tubers from a garden in which there is a surplus, but which might belong to a member of another household. During the course of toasting the manioc flour, the invited women feel free to take portions of the completed product for their own households. The women of the house initiating production contribute most of the manioc and the bulk of the labor, and the productive process is, therefore, oriented to the household. The women of the other houses expect reciprocity at some time in the future, but there is no strict accounting of what is due in labor and manioc to individuals or extended families.

422
●574
476 That farinha belongs to whoever initiates its production

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and participates most intensively in the labors illustrated 422
by the example of two visitors in the villag of Cabruá. 476
Two elderly Mundurucú, one from the Tropa River and 574
the other from the Cururú, arrived in the vlage to visit kinsmen. Both were excellent informants, an they stayed at our request longer than they had planned. They required a few trade articles that we were unale to supply and, accordingly, arranged to sell farinha to trader. Neither had a garden in the village, and they hrvested from those of relatives. Although each of the tw men helped his wife in the process, other women of th village gave aid. Their coöperation was not as great ast would have been if these had been regular residents of te village, but it was still significant and given ungrudgagly. And although the wives of the two men worked with the other women throughout their stay in the villag, none of the households could expect reciprocal labor rom the two couples equal to that which had been extended. The people of Cabruá had simply followed the Mudurucú prin- [83]
ciple that coöperation should be given in an task in which joint effort is possible.

Mutual interdependence in manioc pocessing is a 461
strong integrating factor among the wome. But the farinha shed offers other gratifications than te purely economic. The women talk and joke as they wok there, and those not immediately engaged in the labor sit about and join the conversation. Clusters of women often congregate in the farinha shed for purely social purposes when no farinha is being manufactured. As a forum and a point of social interaction, the farinha shed serves somewhat the same function for the females as the men's house for the males.

Harmony, so obvious among the men, is not as complete 571
among the women, however. The household unit of fe- 578
592

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

459 The Mundurucú also take great pleasure in their ex-
462 cursions to the Tapajós River. Although their main busi-
577 ness is with their own patron, they often make side trips
646 to other trading posts. During these stays, they attend the *rezas*, or prayer sessions, held by the patron's wife, and usually are welcomed at parties given by Brazilians. They sleep wherever there is room to hang a hammock and spend the days helping the patron or merely watching what little activity there may be. In the evenings, the visiting Mundurucú go to the patron's house, where they are served demitasse coffee. After one or two weeks they go home.

711 Since the traders' trips to the Indians are infrequent,
648 and of short duration, these visits to the Tapajós shores constitute one of the principal means of learning the ways of the white men. The Mundurucú are extremely observant and sensitive to cultural differences. When in the houses of the traders, they usually remain silent except for an occasional exchange among themselves; but they watch intently and with interest. They are well aware of the [123] depth of cultural and linguistic differences, and they occasionally subjected me to lengthy, and quite intelligent questioning on the speech and manners of Americans.

191 Linguistic differences present a great barrier to cultural
649 interchange. Only a few Brazilians possess any fluency in Mundurucú, and competence in Portuguese is similarly limited among the savannah dwellers. Most of the men speak a few words of Portuguese and understand a somewhat greater number. But their vocabulary is largely limited to simple and common words and phrases and to the names of items of commerce. No extensive direct communication of ideas between Mundurucú and Brazilian takes place.

177 This linguistic gulf is partly bridged by those bilingual
649

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

them through its combined purchasing power and its members have access to them. The sharing of food also fortifies the ties of interdependence. A family does not go hungry unless everybody in the village is in similar straits, and the unlucky hunter, the traveler, or the family whose garden was ruined by armadillos or wild pigs may count on housemates or neighbors in other households for aid.

Within the household, the framework of social cohesion is provided by the core of related resident females. And although the men of the household are marginal participants in its internal workings, they identify themselves with its interests and occupants to an increasing degree, as their marital union grows in age and stability. But the men are also integrated on the level of the village through the men's house, which serves as political forum, social club, and center of a male religious cult. The men's house also is the place where members of the same moiety and, perhaps, of the same phratry associate. Bonds of kinship, which ultimately include all Munduruc\u00fa in a limited set of relationships, are important deterrents to any motivation to move into a more isolated existence.

The savannah villages appear to the observer as extremely well-knit and unified organizations, and the ease with which new residents or visitors are integrated into them is an impressive display of tribal solidarity. But such harmony is difficult to maintain. Hostilities may be repressed, but not indefinitely or completely. Munduruc\u00fa culture provides few escape valves for aggression. Warfare was formerly the ideal vent for latent hostility, and it had the dual advantage of affording an external outlet and requiring social solidarity by arraying the tribe against a common foe.

The lapse of warfare left only the execution of sorcerers

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

159 578 754 756 a leader in the movement for execution. Although many of these bonds were probably not permanently fractured by the dispute, they were all certainly placed under strain. The fact that first-degree kinsmen, not to mention clan fellows, can become embroiled in internecine strife that can result in the withdrawal of one of the parties is indicative of the progressive weakening of kin bonds. The ethic of harmony and nonviolence that was associated with the traditional institutions of descent and residence continues to some extent on the Cururú River, but it does not prevent social disruption.

184 571 [592] Another noteworthy contrast between Missão Velha and the savannah villages is the lower level of social interaction in the former. It has been pointed out that the household, most often a nuclear family, is the basic economic unit of the Cururú River Mundurucú. The same applies to everyday social intercourse, for not only are the men's house and the all-village collective female labor of the savannah farinha shed absent, but visiting between houses is also less frequent. After the day's labors, the husband, wife, and children usually sit around their own fire to eat and talk, and afterward retire to their hammocks. Occasionally a neighbor and his family will visit briefly. Visiting is almost [574] always done in groups with two or three families coming together at one time. The all-male or all-female gatherings of the savannahs which have for their respective nuclei the men's house and the farinha shed are absent.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE CURURÚ VILLAGES

182 579 The conflict over sorcery in Missão Velha is typical of the schisms constantly arising in the Cururú villages and which account, in part, for the fact that the average village population is on the decline with a corresponding increase in the number of villages. In addition, many people are